

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION

ELLSWORTH FARIS, *Editor*

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

The theme of the present number of THE JOURNAL is Social Attitudes and Their Relation to Education. The contributors were asked to select that aspect of the subject in which they were most interested, and the "guest editor" takes this opportunity of thanking each of them for their coöperation.

The six who write present six facets of the subject; but the discerning reader will have no difficulty in discovering the thread of unity. Professor Blumer calls attention to an important and neglected aspect of the concept itself, which should aid in its clarification. Professor Warner contributes an interesting chapter from his yet unpublished researches showing how organic is the relation between the social structure and the work of the school. Closely related is the article of Professor Dawson who offers sound reasons for a recognition of the effects of education on the attitudes to which the curriculum is only indirectly related, at least so far as the content is concerned. Dr. Faris calls attention to unsuspected aspects of the environment and the possibility that exceptional talent or genius may depend to a large degree on social influences that are overlooked. Professor Kirkpatrick is one of the most active men now doing research on attitudes and his discussion of the attitudes toward marriage and sex concerns an area of life as difficult as it is important. And, finally, we have, in Professor Waller's report of

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his investigation of the attitudes of practice teachers, a most interesting study of the attitudes of those on the other side of the desk.

If we define the word attitude a little broadly and let its meaning include all the acquired tendencies to action, behavior, or conduct, including the habits of mind as well as of body, then education may be said to be concerned chiefly with attitudes. But whether this terminology or some other be preferred is of no consequence. We should never dispute about words. It is the thing denoted by the word that it is important to understand.

The task of the editor of this number has been modest and easy. He only had to secure six good men to write, and he is sure that the readers of *THE JOURNAL* will agree that what has been contributed is of real interest and value.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND NONSYMBOLIC INTERACTION

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

My chief interest in this paper is to treat in a more conspicuous fashion one phase of social attitudes and of their development that is usually ignored or given but minor consideration. I refer to their affective nature as set apart from their ideational content or symbolical character. In the usual discussions where some attempt is made to analyze the nature and, so to speak, to describe the structure of social attitudes, attention is given primarily to the symbolic character. In regarding the attitude as an orientation on the part of the individual, as a "set" of his musculature, as a tendency to act in a given way, or as an incipient preparation to a scheme of conduct, there is usually an implied emphasis on the meaning of the object or situation to which the orientation is had. It does not matter whether the "meaning" is lodged in the structure of nerve and muscle, as the physiologically minded incline to believe, or in a set of images or mental constructions, or in the object. The point is that the attitude as usually depicted represents a plan of action dependent upon the meaningful character of the object or situation toward which it is directed. As such the "symbolical" character of the object incorporated in the attitude as a plan of action receives the stress; the affective nature of the attitude is ignored or given minimal attention.

This point stands out more clearly in the treatment given to the way in which the social milieu enters into the formation of an attitude to give it its social character. This treatment usually is expressed in the declaration that the social milieu "defines" the relatively unformed activity of the individual. The responses of others to one's own activity are regarded as signifying the

line along which that activity may go. Here the thought is that these responses of others give the individual primarily a "realization," "interpretation," or "meaning" which represents the way in which the object of his act is socially interpreted and the way in which that object is likely to be construed on subsequent occasions. Hence the individual's attitude or approach to that object becomes organized on the basis of the symbolic character of the object as that has been outlined by the acts of others. To view the formation of attitudes in this way is not, in my judgment, intrinsically wrong, but it does tend, as remarked above, to emphasize the symbolic feature and to minimize the element of feeling.

It is this feeling side of the attitude that I wish to single out for consideration. I regard feeling as being intrinsic to every social attitude, and, as such, as differentiating attitudes from other types of orientation which in terms of definition would be regarded as attitudes by many writers. Common usage seems to me to carry an implicit recognition of the affective element. Thus we speak of attitudes toward such objects as parents, country, races, groups, and professions. Sentiments and feelings are involved in the relations to such objects. Contrariwise, we do not speak ordinarily of an attitude to such things as, let us say, pencils, chairs, or doorknobs. Certainly, to such objects people in our culture have defined ways of acting represented by tendencies, muscular sets, or orientations. But in common parlance such sets or tendencies are spoken of as attitudes only when they are marked by some feeling. Thus a person may dislike to use pencils, or an Oriental may have an aversion to chairs which he finds it torturesome to sit in. In these instances, one would, I think, immediately speak of attitudes. An affective element has entered in. It is the presence of this element which seems to justify one in speaking of a given orientation or activity tendency as an attitude.

In the theoretical discussions of the nature of attitudes there is, of course, plenty of declaration that attitudes may be marked by strong feelings, and most of the testing devices, as I am familiar with them, proceed on the assumption of the presence of this character. Yet the general tendency is to think of feeling as an *ex parte* element which may be added to certain attitudes but which is absent from others; the essential part of the attitude is held to consist in its orientation, in the implied symbolic content determining its direction. Such a view I believe to be wrong. Feeling is intrinsic to every social attitude—it is not to be treated as an additional element fused into some symbolic structure which is to be regarded as central to, or as the corpus of, the attitude.

I am not concerned here with any serious effort to consider the peculiar role or function of the feeling or affective side of the attitude. I believe, however, that this role is quite important. It seems that it is the affective element which ensures the attitude of its vigor, sustains it in the face of attack, and preserves it from change. Common usage seems to have caught this recognition and given it expression in the popular realization that to change a person's attitudes one must change his feelings.

My purpose, then, is to call attention to two phases of attitudes: (1) a symbolic aspect represented in the specific direction of the tendency, and (2) an affective aspect assuring the attitude its liveliness, its movement, its vigor, and its tenacity.

This affective aspect of the attitude is not only slighted in definition—it has not been given due consideration in the discussions of the process of interaction out of which attitudes arise. Here again the treatment has been weighted heavily on the side of the symbolic content, stressing the formation of the attitude on the level of communication; *i.e.*, in terms of definition or of the conveying of a meaning. Such treatment has not given proper recognition to the fullness and diversity of what

takes place in interaction, and so has yielded, in my judgment, only a partial statement of what is involved in the formation of attitudes.

While we have only limited knowledge of what occurs in the interaction between human beings, I think one can recognize that the process has at least two levels, levels which perhaps represent extremes, with different admixtures of the two in between. I prefer to call the two levels the symbolic and the non-symbolic. Little need be said here of symbolic interaction, since this is the one phase of interaction which has been given a great deal of treatment in the literature, although with results that are none too convincing. It is usually what is considered under the rubric of communication where that term is used carefully and with circumspection. Suffice it to say that on this level individuals respond to the *meaning* or *significance* of one another's actions. The gesture of the other is subject to interpretation which provides the basis for one's own response. We may say, roughly, that at this level of interaction the stimulus-response couplet has inserted a middle term in the form of interpretation which implies some checking of immediate reaction, and leads, as suggested, to directed response upon the basis of the meaning assigned to the gesture.

Interaction on its nonsymbolic level operates, in my judgment, in an intrinsically different way. It is marked by spontaneous and direct response to the gestures and actions of the other individual, without the intermediation of any interpretation. That there is involved a lively process of interaction of this sort when people meet is, I think, undeniable, although it is difficult to detect. People are unaware of this kind of response just because it occurs spontaneously, without a conscious or reflective fixing of attention upon those gestures of the other to which one is responding.

It is this nonsymbolic phase of interaction that should be con-

sidered with reference to the formation of the affective element of social attitudes. It is from this type of interaction chiefly that come the feelings that enter into social and collective attitudes. They arise from the unwitting, unconscious responses that one makes to the gestures of others. To state this point is one thing; to prove it, another. However, I believe a good case can be made for the assertion, and an appreciation of its validity can be given, by considering the phenomenon of impression, especially the formation of first impressions. It is a familiar experience in meeting people for the first time to discover in oneself immediate likes or dislikes, without any clear understanding of the basis of these feelings. Something in the form of a spontaneous and undirected response has taken place, establishing a feeling and providing a basis for one's judgment. Even when one can give some explanation of his feelings in terms of traits of the others, most frequently the designation of the traits follows the having of the feeling. Seldom, I think, in the give and take of social intercourse, is the having of impressions dependent upon a prior analysis of the symbolic value of the other's traits. An individual who approached all his social relations solely on the premise of such a preliminary analysis would, I think, be exceedingly awkward in making adjustments, assuming that he could get along at all. The very nature of first impressions seems to me to point to their immediacy.

There is presupposed here a direct and spontaneous response to others which analysis can show more easily to be unwitting than to be conscious. Such impressions, it should be remarked, are not trivial. That they provide the immediate bases for the direction of conduct is clear; that they are less readily changed than formed I think will also be found to be true. Their consideration suggests that it is probably the organization set up by unwitting response which is the foundation of social attitudes; it is such organization that has to be changed if any significant alteration is to be made in these attitudes.

This suggested relation of the affective aspect of social attitudes to nonsymbolic interaction invites further analysis. On its stimulus side nonsymbolic interaction is constituted, I believe, by expressive behavior; *i.e.*, a release of feeling and tension, to be distinguished as different from indication of intellectual intention, which properly comes on the symbolic level. Expressive behavior is presented through such features as quality of the voice—tone, pitch, volume—in facial set and movement, in the look of the eyes, in the rhythm, vigor, agitation of muscular movements, and in posture. These form the channels for the disclosure of feeling. It is through these that the individual, as we say, reveals himself as apart from what he says or does. Expressive behavior is primarily a form of release, implying a background of tension. It tends to be spontaneous and unwitting; as such, it usually appears as an accompaniment of intentional and consciously directed conduct.

There is, I think, common recognition that expressive gestures are especially effective in catching attention and creating impression. Stripped of expressive features, the act of the other person is not likely to incite or inspire, is missing in dramatic qualities, and requires some coercion of attention in order to be held before one. All of us have had experience with discourse whose symbolic content may have been of intrinsic merit but which failed to gain attention and failed to make an impression. Likewise, to take a contrary example, we are all familiar with the speaker, orator, or lecturer whose display of interest and enthusiasm, whose use of dramatic utterance, and whose lively play of expressive gesture all combine to overshadow a meager symbolic statement. It is the overtone of expressive gesture which makes the stimulation fascinating and effective.

Expressive gestures seem to enjoy a special uniqueness in gaining ready and immediate responsiveness. Speaking metaphorically, one might declare that human beings are delicately

attuned to one another on the level of expressive behavior. They seem to be especially sensitive to such display on the part of others. Expressive behavior exerts a claim on one's attention; to ignore it usually requires some act of decision, some justification to oneself as to why one does not attend to it.

The peculiarity of nonsymbolic interaction, then, is that on the side of both stimulus and response it is spontaneous, direct, and unwitting, and that it operates between the parties as a rapid and especially facile channel peculiarly congenial to human beings. Because it is expressive on one side, it is likely to be impressive on the other. The disclosure of affective states on the one side seems to arouse and influence feelings on the other side.

It is my belief that it is just this nonsymbolic phase of interaction which has been ignored in the usual theoretical discussions of how attitudes are formed inside of a social milieu. The treatment, as suggested above, in so far as it has risen above the mere statement that there are action and reaction, has tended to treat this formation on the symbolic level in terms of the defining activities of others, or the conveying of a meaning to the individual, which gives direction to his act. And most sophisticated attempts to change or transform attitudes have followed this theoretical lead by placing reliance on a symbolic content which conceivably might yield the individual a new picture of the object in question. Yet it is my feeling that both this theoretical interpretation and the practical efforts based on it seriously ignore the affective aspect of attitudes. The feeling element is a basic part of the attitude and has to be changed in order to have guarantees of a genuine transformation.

I think this change is likely to be made effectively on the nonsymbolic level and not by merely seeking to convey a new interpretation of the object. We are familiar with the frequent futility of trying to change a person's attitude through some

form of intellectual conversion. One may convince him in argument, yet his feelings remain untouched. He retains, even though in a perturbed form, his previous attitude, with the original orientation to action which it stood for. However, the disclosure of feeling through some form of expressive behavior readily touches affective states—awakening, setting, disturbing, or modifying them.

These remarks concerning nonsymbolic interaction are tantamount to declaring that in group life there is a collective interplay of feeling which constitutes a milieu for the affective life of each one of us, and so for the development of our social attitudes. It is inside of such a texture of expressive behavior that our social feelings are nurtured—its absence leads to their impoverishment or decay. Our attitudes, or their affective side, are sustained through the reinforcement we receive from the disclosures of feeling in the expressive conduct of others.

To refer to the expressive behavior of others as forming a collective texture is not to speak in idle metaphor. I should like to point out that expressive behavior is regularized by social codes much as is language or conduct. There seems to be as much justification and validity to speak of an affective structure or ritual in society as of a language structure or pattern of meanings. Almost every stabilized social situation in the life of a group imposes some scheme of affective conduct on individuals, whose conformity to it is expected. At a funeral, in a church, in the convivial group, in the polite assemblage, in the doctor's office, in the theater, at the dinner table, to mention a few instances, narrow limits are set for the play of expressive conduct and affective norms are imposed. In large measure, living with others places a premium on skill in observing the affective demands of social relations; similarly, the socialization of the child and his incorporation into the group involves an education into the niceties of expressive conduct. These affective

rules, demands, and expectations form a code, etiquette, or ritual which, as suggested above, is just as much a complex, interdependent structure as is the language of the group or its tradition.

The view which I am suggesting in this discussion is that social life in human groups can be viewed in one of its aspects as a network of affective relations, operating in the form of expressive stimulation and impressive response. It is this nonsymbolic interaction which seems to form the setting for the formation of the feelings which are intrinsic to and basic to social attitudes. My foregoing remarks are chiefly as a series of conjectures, but they will suffice, I think, to call attention to a primary phase of social attitudes which seems to be unduly ignored in current theoretical discussions.

FORMAL EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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The education of the child in primitive or modern society consists, briefly, in implanting the social traditions of the group in him. This must be done with sufficient success if the individual so trained is to participate in his society with a minimum of friction and maintain in himself the sentiments suitable to the part of the social structure in which he moves. Any society which fails to accomplish this minimum of socialization with any new generation faces possible extinction and at least fundamental changes in its institutions and systems of value. No society, the less populous ones particularly, can afford to allow too great variation in the adjustment of its immature members to the adult world if it is to maintain itself. However, variation in the education of modern children is a fundamental necessity if our modern society is to continue its present character, but such variation is an expression of the social segmentation found in the adult social world.

Social stratification, that is, properly speaking, a social configuration wherein certain individuals are subordinate and others superordinate, is characteristic of at least the older communities of the eastern United States. For the last several years my colleagues and I have been studying several older communities, one of which, located in Massachusetts, has some fifteen thousand inhabitants, and another, in southern Mississippi, is a town of somewhat smaller population. We have attempted to examine the whole social life of the two communities. We have been concerned among other things with attempting to find out how these communities adjust their growing children to the social strata of the two towns.

The northern community possesses six classes, each with sufficiently differentiated behavior to separate it from the others. There is a fiction in the community that it is possible to move up the social ladder from the bottom to the top in the lifetime of an individual. Actually, no one does or can, and only a minority from any one class moves into the one above. It is impossible for a member of the group just below the top one to rise to it, and ordinarily speaking, such a move would be a process of three generations in the life of a family. In the five classes below the highest, movement is possible from the bottom to the top, as is the reverse.

In the southern community a quite different situation prevails. Here the social strata are so arranged that there is a two-caste system, and within each caste is found a class system. By these castes I mean what we ordinarily refer to as the Negro and white racial groups of the South. The ordinary rules of caste are maintained, such as prohibition of intermarriage with strong penalties for those who break this taboo; the vertical structure of the two groups is maintained by not allowing a member of the lower caste or his children to come up into the upper white group and by attempting to prevent a white from dropping into the Negro group. In each caste there are superior and inferior classes. The difference between the northern and southern cultures, structurally speaking, is marked, and the seemingly fundamental similarities of the areas generally assumed do not exist.

To maintain these two systems, the children of the two areas must be properly conditioned to the adult mores of the two societies. This conditioning consists of formal and informal education. I propose to examine in summary form the educative mechanisms of the two areas.

The separation of the white caste from the Negro in the school systems of the southern community clearly symbolizes

the extreme social distance maintained between the two groups and formally places in the child's mind the absolute divergence of the two groups. The unequal distribution of money for the education of the children of the two groups, the inequality of teachers' salaries, school buildings, and equipment contribute their share to the continuation of the subordination of one group to the other. The percentage of Negroes who go beyond the third and fourth grades is far below that of the whites. Negro education, particularly in the rural districts surrounding the urban areas studied, is primarily an education for individuals who are to participate within the limitations of the subordinate group. Their equipment provides them with approximately the minimum of reading, writing, and arithmetic that will allow them to perform their duties as tenants, laborers, or servants. The small percentage of Negroes who have gone beyond this and educated themselves to become professional men are part of a larger social process which seems to be changing the caste system's structure and creating a group of Negroes who in *class* behavior within their *caste* are superior to the whites in certain classes within the dominant caste. Much of the pressure on the school systems of the South by Negroes at the present time is designed to continue this process. Much of the manoeuvring of the dominant caste, particularly within the political structure, to appropriate for the white child funds designed for the Negro child are to be understood as a conscious or unconscious drive to maintain the present-day vertical social structure. "A Negro needs enough learning to read, write, and figure a little, so that they cannot cheat him too much, but there is not anything worse in this world than an overeducated Negro." This often heard statement about sums up the attitude of the white when he attempts to prevent equality of education for the two groups.

The prevailing belief in the smaller communities studied

that the Negro learns very well for the first few years of his life and then loses his ability to learn is another attitude held not only by many of the whites but by large numbers of the Negroes and decidedly limits the advance of the Negro into higher grades and helps maintain his lower status. It is believed this inability is psychobiological; "it is in the blood" rather than social.

Another factor in maintaining the caste structure is the limitation of jobs for the Negro. Rarely does the Negro enter the trades or white-collar occupations. This situation in the economic world has very decided effects on the school system. There is a general feeling among the Negroes of the communities studied that it is foolish to rear a child to be well educated, since it makes him unfit for the life around him. Actually, a superior education does tend toward maladjustment, and many Negroes who have succeeded in progressing beyond the earlier grades tend to migrate to the larger towns or to the North. This is an expression of their unbalanced position within the community. Such movements out of the smaller towns and rural areas help maintain the caste equilibrium and make it possible for the school system to adjust completely to the continuance of the southern vertical structure.

The lower class rural whites, inferior in *class* to the upper-class Negroes and more or less equivalent to the general class of Negroes, but superior in *caste* to the entire Negro group, receive an education which on the whole tends to hold the members of that group in their lowly position. Few go beyond the earlier grades of school. The economic life with its round of duties on the tenant farms tends to keep the children out of school at critical periods and forces them to remain longer in the lower grades than their higher class competitors. When they reach a sufficient maturity to compete in the labor market, they leave school. The quality of instruction at the schools is

almost as poor as in those of the Negroes. There is, however, a chance for the lower class whites to rise, as some members have, because they lack the badge of color that holds a member of the Negro caste to his group. But in the South vertical mobility provided by education seems to be less prevalent than that found in the New England communities.

In the northern area studied by us, most of the children go to public schools approximately equal in advantages to the maturing child who is to use his educational equipment in the attempt to advance his social status in the class structure or to maintain his present position. The private preparatory school is used by the upper class to indoctrinate the child with certain attitudes and values, certain manners, and certain daily rites and routines that will prepare him for a society which believes in its superiority to the other groups in the community and is so accepted by these groups. Collegiate education of the private-school boys and girls is not so much an acquisition of knowledge to be used as a tool for advancement as it is an equipment of the maturing child with the standards and behavior of the lady or the gentleman. Such an individual tends to have intellectual interests, usually highly specialized, which become his avocation, or he may develop a sufficient interest to become a professional practitioner. However, such an interest tends to be placed in a context of organizing his leisure time and of using his career not so much for income as for prestige.

Other groups in the New England areas which maintain a social distance are the ethnics. They provide schools for the continuance of the traditions of the mother country and for religious instruction. In time the "traditional" element of the education tends to drop out and the school becomes what is popularly thought of as a "parochial" school. Such a school competes directly with the public schools and inculcates a variant type of behavior which fits its students for a mature behavior different

from the norms of the Yankee community and frequently in conflicts with the general values. The parochial school prevents complete orientation and by its physical separation maintains other social distances that allow ethnic groups to persist and successfully to resist assimilation. In the present generation an adolescent of the parochial school communicates much less with the Yankee adolescent and much more with his own kind than did his fathers and mothers when they were in school in these communities. Formerly there was much more intermarriage between parochial and Yankee groups than there is now, and, according to our informants, many more children of such marriages were assimilated into the traditional and secular behavior of New England. The parochial and ethnic schools tend to separate the ethnic child from such contacts with the children of the general Yankee community as would allow the development of erotic interests with sets of sentiments and values similar to the old Yankee ones which might finally develop into intermarriages of the foreign and native young people.

The public school in New England is performing at least three functions: (1) it equips a child with the ordinary tools of learning; (2) it gives him the training necessary for social mobility; and (3) it helps orientate divergent cultural groups to the normal behavior and traditional structure of Yankee society.

The control and administration of the educational systems tends to be in the hands of the upper middle class. The teachers, too, tend to be drawn from this group. This class is highly mobile, and more than any other in the community stresses the virtues of "getting up in the world." Accent is consequently placed upon providing teaching that will equip the child to move upward. The desire for the rewards of higher status is put into the child's mind and contributes immeasurably toward forcing him to learn his lessons properly and assimilate his formal education. Education for the middle- and lower-class

child in New England is not so much a learning of a formal intellectual discipline as the acquisition of a tool the child later uses to rise and to maintain his place in the class organization. He must be educated to be accepted by his class or to rise to a higher place. The larger part of the parents' pressure "to do his schoolwork" is an effort to make the child fit into the class society and by so doing to accept the values of the socially mobile group.

One of the usual methods by which the children of members of the lower groups raise themselves is to exercise various semi-artistic talents. So-called schools of dancing, music, and elocution are attended by such children where they learn how to tap dance, play a saxophone, or recite pieces. Such trained talents are utilized by the various associations, clubs, and lodges for their entertainment, and the growing youth comes to their notice and frequently to membership. He thus climbs out of his lower status to a higher group and stabilizes his rise by becoming a member of an association in the higher group. This method of rising is, of course, not confined to the lower groups. The middle and lower upper classes also use their occasional talents as equipment for raising their class participation. The wealthy son or daughter of a "recently arrived" textile manufacturer, after completing his or her training at one of the older colleges with its higher "social" prestige, goes to an art school in Paris, or trains his or her voice "on the Continent," or goes to New York to learn to write. If such attempts succeed in launching a generally recognized artistic career, his status is raised and his sphere of behavior enlarged in the field of upper-class activity. If he fails, he frequently becomes emotionally unstable and in some cases develops psychoneurotic behavior.

The several school systems of the southern and New England areas where we have done our research tend to maintain the school and class structures. Social distance is crudely ex-

pressed in the separation of the children of the several groups by maintaining different educational standards and by teaching different traditions. The fundamental difference between the formal school systems of the two areas is that in the Yankee schools a parochial-school child can transfer to a public school or a public-school child to a parochial school, whereas in the South a Negro or white child could not pass from his or her school to the institution of the opposite caste. In other words, the caste system begins at the low-age level of the grammar school, and so it must if the present caste system is to survive.

I have said nothing here about the function of education as a modifier of present culture and of the behavior of the individuals in it. Schools with such purposes do not exist in the communities I have examined as they do in some of the larger cities of the United States. If a society is to maintain a sufficient equilibrium to allow its members to live with a minimum of conflict, its schools must express the norms of the structures that make up its social parts. Such are the schools of the smaller towns of the rural areas of the deep South and of New England.

GROWING UP AT SCHOOL

C. A. DAWSON

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The focus of attention in this article is not the physical maturation of the school population but the development of personality in the school group. Physical factors affect the latter process in many ways, but most significant to the growing boy or girl are the attitudes which others take toward physical factors and his response to them—that is the way in which they become socially defined. The squint-eyed, bandy-legged, freckled, snub-nosed, redheaded, or corpulent are extraordinarily sensitive to the gibes of their schoolmates. Quite often some such highly visible feature singles out the child for more attention and embarrassment than dull-wittedness, for the latter may be partially concealed.

Then, too, attention may be directed to other matters over which children have little or no control; the style of clothes they wear, the occupations of their fathers, the reputations of their families, the neighborhoods or streets in which they live, the ethnic groups to which they belong, the religion and political allegiance of their larger family groups. Any or all of these elements may enter the given social situation and affect the child's sense of well-being in the treatment of his schoolmates. Nor will the possession of a high degree of native intelligence necessarily obtain for him the position among his mates that seems most desirable to him. While the child endowed with great intelligence can respond to a much wider range of stimuli than the ordinary child, this intelligence may be applied in directions which isolate him from others and thus retard his development as a person who can play a normal role in group life. Every child has to struggle to achieve those objectives toward

which not only circumstances incline him but his mates and elders approve. The more unobtrusively these objectives can be achieved the less disruptive will be the attention of others. High visibility may be appropriate to meteors—whose lives are momentary—but not to school children. It is necessary to his personal development that the child learn to play a significant role in the eyes of his fellows. But when factors in his social situation arouse undue attention they are liable to contribute abnormal features to the person's conception of himself and lead to aberrant compensatory behavior.

School groups should be so constituted that the growing-up process goes on with a minimum of direction on the part of the teacher. While the process is very painful at times, children may be expected to find their appropriate places in the group without much interference on the part of the teacher. But like a wise parent—and the teacher is in a sense a substitute parent during school hours—he learns to recognize critical situations where opportunities for achievement demand some slight changes in the rules of the game in order that they may bear a little less heavily on some of his pupils in the schoolroom and on the playing field. This means that the teacher must succeed in becoming in a greater measure than is ordinarily achieved an integral part of the primary group which children inevitably form in every fairly stable situation. Only by so doing can the teacher sense the subtle factors of personality adjustment involved in the growing-up process. Since he is placed in a social position of specialized leadership he is expected to know the nature of those personality-making social situations in which children are discovering themselves through interaction with others. This involves not only knowing the intricacies of the immediate primary group situation in which he is the senior member but also the typical neighborhood and class heritages of those sections of the community from which the members of

the school group come. These local heritages set certain cultural limits within which the process of self-discovery on the part of his pupils must take place. In so far as he ignores or affronts their norms of behavior—matters that have been surrounded by impressive social sanctions—he fails to utilize accessible social resources upon which the effectiveness of his leadership in a large measure depends. Many of the local practices and beliefs in the social equipment of his pupils require redefinition in terms of the wider heritage which the school transmits. In this redefinition, which is an essential part of the growing-up process, the teacher plays a leading role. Thus teaching with particular emphasis on this process places a heavy burden on the teacher. To meet this situation he should be assigned a lighter class load than usually obtains and his professional prerequisites should include a knowledge of human situations and skill in dealing with them. The fact that so many teachers pay so little attention to the growing-up process, except when it disturbs classroom routine, challenges a restatement of educational policy which will focus attention on objectives which matter most—those phases of personality development which come to light in school situations. In conjunction with the home and the neighborhood, the custodians of school funds may be expected to provide in a broad way a social environment in which those growing up may exercise a wholesome measure of self-direction. They may also be expected to provide teachers who know when and how to supplement the efforts of all growing persons but especially of those who experience marked difficulties in finding their social way.

The more formal aspect of the social heritage which the school transmits to those growing up is to be found in the texts and other books which comprise the curriculum. The choice of these books and the purposes which they are designed to serve require some comment, for the elements of the social heritage

selected for transmission are an integral part of the total situation in which young persons grow up. In broad fashion the communicable content of the school curriculum should give expression to the values already articulate in the community as a whole in which the school is located. Nor are these values to be conceived as static, for they reveal certain trends of change which signify the lines of direction in which the local interpretations of the wider human heritage may be redefined in the course of their transmission to the generation growing up.

This whole process has never been entirely free from the misdirected earnestness of doctrinaires whose intentions are good in the main. Some of these are representatives of religious groups who want particular attention paid to their special tenets. Indoctrination of school children in the interests of ultranationalists and internationalists, political and industrial groups, and those who have a vested interest in some phase of curricular content whether ancient or modern is often sought. Even the teacher may utilize his position to bring the minds of his pupils under the sway of some oracular predilection. The main trend in public-school education—and for that matter in all education—has been one of increasing secularization. This has restricted the activities of doctrinaires but it has not resulted in the elimination of nonsecular values from the social heritage: secularization has meant the transmission of a far wider selection of values secular and sacred to those growing up in our present era.

In itself this wider selection of the accessible experiences of preceding generations has a significant bearing on the growing-up process for it provides vicariously a range of experience that helps the growing person to find his place and poise in relation to others. However, one particular difficulty appears in this connection. The school is conceived as a means of preparing the growing person for a vocation and other special responsibilities

that will fall to him as he approaches maturity. Indeed, when the school plays an effective role in the maturation of persons, it does prepare them for their adult responsibilities. But there has been in the recent past a marked tendency to make the transmission of the wider social heritage subsidiary to the special vocational preparation desired by some parents and many "vocationalizers." This tendency is particularly prevalent during the high-school period and the earlier years in college but it may also leave its mark on those in the public school. Some parents decide very early what vocations they wish their children to enter and attempt to concentrate the latter's attention on those subjects which seem most appropriate to the ambitions of the former. Some of us have known parents who have compensated for some felt defect in a language or other subject by overemphasizing its value in the educational plans for their children. Furthermore, some teachers recognize special aptitudes and overstimulate their early development to the detriment of broader educational requirements.

The imposition of vocational choices on others is not in keeping with an educational policy designed to help young persons grow up. In their communities and through their schoolbooks youths become acquainted with the representatives of many vocations and professions. They also become familiar with typical achievements in representative vocations. Such procedure equips the growing person with a basic education out of which vocational choices are allowed to emerge as a natural phase of the growing-up process itself. Parents and vocational advisers may act as consultants when the problem of vocational selection emerges in the youth's experience and their advice should be in keeping with his known aptitudes and inclinations. Along broad lines parents and their allies the teachers must consider the futures of growing persons but in the main they fulfil their functions when they place those under their tutelage

in position to make their choices from the widest feasible variety of alternatives.

By implication the previous paragraph has dealt with an overemphasis in the curriculum with respect to the acquisition of knowledge which has seemed particularly pertinent to the so-called learned professions. This tendency has made for the presentation of abstract ideas in forms unsuitable to the immature, and it has also caused other essential phases of personal development to be sacrificed in the interest of knowledge acquisition. This intellectualistic bias has been a thorn in the sides of those who have sought to humanize educational procedure.

However, the recent interest in child development made manifest in research foundations and programs, college courses, governmental departments, and a wide variety of other social agencies makes it reasonably certain that forces are being set in motion which will cause educational administrators to place more emphasis on the growing-up process in the educational system. For to grow up is to learn to play a role in social situations satisfactory to one's self and acceptable to others. The curriculum may facilitate the growing-up process by giving the human phase of the social heritage the place in nurture which it occupied in nature.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TALENT AND GENIUS

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A major difficulty in the study of environmental causes of genius has been the formulation of an adequate conception of environment. In order to arrive at such a definition it is necessary to determine what factors in the experiences and surroundings of persons studied might have produced their abilities. The present study is an attempt to solve this problem through intensive and intimate life histories gathered through interviews and written documents of talented persons. The subjects are young adults who are recognized by their acquaintances as outstanding in some gifts, such as musical ability, skill in drawing, mathematical ability, acting ability, and general high intelligence. It is found that the most significant factors are relatively obscure and subtle, operating in the more private mental processes of the person, not easily observed without the use of intimate and searching interviews, and not always closely correlated with the more obvious external environmental features usually considered as the principal factors in many statistical studies of intelligence.

The following typical case shows the nature of these concealed inner processes. The subject, a young male college graduate, began apparently quite suddenly to play the piano although he had had no lessons except for a short time during childhood. Not long after this he bought a violin and, also without lessons, learned to play it. To his acquaintances this performance appeared to be an abrupt emergence of an innate talent. In the following condensation of portions of the case

record, however, it is seen that the ability developed slowly and had a long history.

K. I., when a small child, had the opportunity to hear in his home piano music played by his mother, and phonograph music. He was also exposed to music in his schools, and although he showed no unusual interest or gift for music, took some part in singing fetes and glee-club activities. At an early age he had a few piano lessons from his mother and a very few from a music teacher. These were abandoned at the suggestion of the teacher, as K. I. did not practise at all and it was difficult to persuade him to come indoors from play to have his lesson.

At this age, K. I. and his three brothers had similar attitudes toward music. They were moderately fond of hearing good piano and recorded music and they would sing and hum tunes while at play, but they did not care to do the work required to perform on an instrument. An important obstacle was competition for their time and interest by outdoor play.

When K. I. was about twelve years old, his older brother Tom began going to high school, and playing with a new group of friends he found in that school. These boys, two to three years older than K. I., scorned to play with one so young and especially one who attended the private elementary school they called "sissy school." Tom took over this attitude, with the result that K. I. began to withdraw from that group and also from Tom. From this time on he spent more time indoors, reading, playing indoor games, drawing pictures, and engaging in other quiet activity, and less time in outdoor athletics. This reaction intensified his reputation as a "sissy" so that the process of withdrawal became a sort of vicious circle.

From early childhood, K. I. had a nervous habit of biting his nails. His parents and teachers embarrassed him by calling attention to it. During his efforts to control it, another habit, perhaps a substitute, was developed. This consisted in faintly clicking his teeth together. As these teeth were crooked, there were several possible points of contacts, and so they were clicked in different places. He began to think of these different contact points as notes in a scale. At first there were only four, and these represented the bugle notes. Bugle calls were learned in the Boy Scouts and given an emotional significance by their frequent use in wartime. K. I. would then play bugle calls silently on his teeth, just as the tunes would run through his head. The low notes were on the left, as on the piano keyboard. This practice was carried on in school, when

reading, and when at play. It was hardly noticeable to others as there was very little sound and only slight movement. Later it was refined so that there was no sound at all. After a considerable amount of bugle-call practise on the teeth, other possible points of contact were discovered, one by one, until a chromatic scale of over an octave was achieved. Simple tunes were learned, then in some songs chords of two notes were "played," using principles of harmony learned from playing a mouth organ.

From time to time both brothers would try to pick out simple tunes on the piano keys, and would succeed in getting them right only after considerable stumbling, if at all. But K. I., with his many hours a day of practise on his teeth, began to be more sure of his notes and could work out easy melodies on the piano with fewer trials than formerly. Eventually this brought about the ability to play melodies by ear, often at first trial.

This single-note piano playing continued for several years, with no further improvements except in accuracy. But in time, perhaps following principles learned in glee-club music, he began to play tunes with a simple accompanying harmony consisting of a third above each note. Later the additional device of using a sixth below each note of the melody was added, then the two were used in the same tune, according to appropriateness.

When K. I. was about fifteen years old, he saw a neighbor boy bluff his way through a two-hand rendition of a popular song by playing the melody by ear with an accompanying third on the right hand, and by striking keys at random in the bass, with a two-four time. Since this promised to be an interesting stunt to learn, K. I. tried it and discovered not only that he could do it, but that he could also hit keys in the bass with some accuracy, so that he realized that if he knew what keys to strike his fingers would be able to hit them. He was also encouraged by the mother of one of his friends, who told him that with just a little instruction he could play easy songs. So he set out to learn a song, choosing a very simple arrangement of a popular tune. He remembered only that the lines in the treble clef represented the notes E, G, B, D, F, and that the spaces were F, A, C, E, but by counting laboriously he learned, note by note, first the right-hand part, then the accompaniment, and finally put them together and practised until he could play so smoothly that others thought him a real pianist.

This labor was motivated by the desire to impress his friends, as a stunt, rather than by any intention to continue to learn to play the piano. But the first piece he learned soon became so tiresome that he did not enjoy playing it, so decided to learn another one. This time the process was a little easier, for at least he knew he would succeed. Before long he learned five or six pieces in this manner. He then began to try to learn more difficult pieces from the player piano, by running the mechanism at an extremely slow rate and putting his fingers over the keys as they went down. In this manner he learned bits of more difficult piano works, such as the Liszt *Second Hungarian Rhapsody*, and *Country Gardens*, by Percy Grainger. From these he learned more principles of harmony, so that now he was able to play by ear two-hand parts of any simple tune that he knew well enough to hum correctly.

One of his college friends was learning to play the piano by similar self-instruction, so K. I. exchanged ideas and experiences with him. They would report to one another when either discovered a new chord or a new trick, and they would discuss their uses. At this time the knowledge came rapidly and the interest became quite strong, not only in playing the piano, but in listening to music. He began to buy phonograph recordings of operatic melodies and light classical music. These had a strong appeal and he longed to be able to play some instruments as well and as expressively as the music in these records. He tried to play some of these melodies on the piano, and found that in some cases he was able to play them correctly at first trial, with proper harmony in the left-hand part. Some pieces, however, were too difficult to work out. Unfamiliar harmonies were never discovered by ear, but when he learned them from printed music, or from friends, he could then recognize them in the recorded music. In this manner his knowledge of music increased, but it was knowledge gathered informally and practised silently and mentally more than overtly. To this day, all music played by ear is at first seen on piano keys or violin strings, and set against a background of four bugle notes.

When he was about fifteen years old, a neighbor gave a ukelele to his younger brother. K. I. attempted to learn to play it, but as the chords were interesting only if accompanying a song, and as he did not care to sing, he soon lost interest. But he did attempt to pick out tunes, in mandolin fashion, and soon gained the ability to play simple tunes by ear. This was better than strumming chords, but the instrument was

limited by its short range and muffled sound, and it was not possible to achieve much emotional expression with it.

About this time, however, K. I. heard a mandolin performer at a theater play the *Meditation* from *Thaïs*. The artist was so skilled that his instrument seemed almost as expressive as a violin. Immediately K. I. began to wish for one, and before long his parents purchased a good banjo mandolin. He was able to play tunes by ear at once, because of the experience with the ukelele. But although he was proud of the mandolin, he eventually began to wish for a more expressive type of instrument—one which could draw out a fine, delicate, floating tone, of the quality of the music in the operatic recordings. He realized that a violin might satisfy this requirement and began to wish for one. This wish grew for several years, while he was learning more music and increasing his skill on the piano.

The year after he finished college, he bought a cheap violin and began to learn to play it. He took no lessons, but could find the approximate finger positions from his experience with the mandolin. Without frets to guide the fingers, however, accuracy in pitch was lacking. Clumsy bowing produced unpleasant sounds. The result was nearly to discourage him, for he contrasted these sounds with the music of the Kreisler records. But after temporary lapses he continued to play and found that he improved. He kept to slow, easy tunes, such as Handel's *Largo*, and tried to concentrate on good tone rather than brilliant finger work. Because he was sensitive and embarrassed when the tone was bad or off pitch, he made strong efforts to improve in this respect, and eventually became able to play a few pieces so as to make appealing and satisfying music. Often he would play with a violin record and learn from it, or from violin or orchestra music on the radio. In this fashion new techniques were added continuously.

In the above account it is easily seen that although there was much less formal training and overt practice than the average musician must have, there was in reality probably enough effective experience and rehearsal to make it unnecessary to assume possession of quicker learning ability or any other innate gifts. Though different in detail, all cases of music talent studied showed similar experiences sufficient to explain the performance without reference to any innate advantages.

The phenomenal mental calculators of arithmetic problems appear to have similar histories. Frank D. Mitchell, himself a calculator, studied a number of such persons,¹ and found that in many, and perhaps all of these cases, the persons were somewhat isolated and inactive at early ages, and by some accident took to counting for amusement. Once the interest is aroused in the various symmetries and properties of numbers, calculation becomes a habit which is practised silently and intensively for many hours each day and over periods of years, and can be carried on even when the person may be engaged in some unrelated activity. Calculating ability, then, is no mysterious talent, but the natural result of a definite series of experiences. The appearance of mystery is due to the fact that these experiences are not easily observed, even by close friends and members of the family.

Similar results were found in cases of persons talented in drawing. This skill comes from painstaking observation and mental organization of what is seen, and this may be done unnoticed and without actual overt trial. In some cases a large part of schoolroom daydreaming for a period of years consisted in this sort of mental practise in drawing, supplemented with actual drawing when possible.

An interesting life-history study of a person showing unusual talent in acting indicates that this type of talent is also based on many years of mental work, in this case consisting mostly of imagining ways to show off and to entertain one's friends.

In addition to the above generalizations, the cases revealed certain recurrent and typical circumstances and experiences that appeared to be of importance in the causation of abilities. One favorable circumstance is a strong interest in parents and other

¹ Frank D. Mitchell, "Mathematical Prodigies," *American Journal of Psychology*, XVIII (January 1907), pp. 61-143.

adults, especially when this interest leads to frequent and stimulating contacts between the generations. Relations with playmates are also important. Exclusion from active, extraverted friends in early years may often drive children to solitary, indoor actions, such as reading, music, and drawing. This sort of withdrawal may make social relations less successful, but it often gives the child more than an average amount of time for the development of special talents. Another significant factor is an advantageous location at the central points of opportunity and stimulating contacts. Those who live at centers of culture, music, art, and invention, and who are able to travel, and those who have wide acquaintanceship with educated persons, wide knowledge of reading matter, and adequate habits of using reference methods are able to learn a great deal more and with much less effort than less fortunately situated persons. Also of importance is the organization of the intellectual surroundings of the person. The child who lives in an organized and rationalized world may learn more easily because of his confidence that the world is mechanical and that answers to his questions can be found.

Finally, the interrelations and organization of these factors with other experiences in the life history are of great significance in determining abilities. Often a very trivial experience will set off a chain of results that affects the entire character of the person. The unique sequence of events, and interrelations of personality, social background, opportunities, relations with members of the family and other groups, while necessarily different for each person, must enter into the explanation of the development of abilities. Adequate studies of the environmental basis of genius and talents must use methods suitable for discovering all the relevant data of this type, in addition to the more obvious external environmental conditions.

STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE AND SEX

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Since modern psychology lays stress on social attitudes, it seems desirable to call attention to the special topic of student attitudes toward marriage and sex. Studies will be cited which throw light on the nature and origin of prevailing attitudes of students toward marriage and sex. The recent interest in the modification of student attitudes toward marriage and sex by formal education will be noted and obstacles to such modification will be pointed out.

Students may contribute in two ways to scientific knowledge concerning their attitudes toward marriage and sex. (1) They may offer themselves as subjects for experiment and questioning. (2) They may coöperate in obtaining useful data from other students or from parents which may aid in interpreting their own reactions. In each case the data may consist of (a) opinions or verbal expressions of attitude, (b) reported facts in regard to activities and background, and finally (c) integrated descriptions generally referred to as case-history material. Certain examples may be offered of investigations of students taken directly as subjects.

There are scattered studies concerned with students' opinions concerning parenthood. Rice found that while a substantial majority of both male and female students desired children even those wanting them desired only about 2.5 per family. They did not desire the number of children necessary to maintain their groups in the general population.¹

¹ Stuart Rice, "Undergraduate Attitudes Toward Marriage and Children," *Mental Hygiene*, XIII, 4 (October 1929), pp. 788-793.

A modest study of 30 male University of Pennsylvania students made under the writer's direction revealed that all but one of the men desired children. On the average they desired 2.6 children, with a decided preference for boys. The chief cause for limiting the size of their families was given as financial. The most common reasons for having children centered around social duty and reproduction as the purpose of life. At the same institution it was found that 72 out of 73 male students replying to a questionnaire favored limitation of their families, on the average, to 2.8. At the University of Minnesota a study of 18 women and 19 men students revealed a similar desire of women for 2.8 children and of men for 2.3 children.

Various studies have been made bearing on attitudes toward selection of the marriage partner. For the Pennsylvania group it was found that only about half of the students objected to intermarriage between Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile. Objection was made to a wife working after marriage by 60 per cent. There were 71 per cent who upheld a single standard of morality prior to marriage. The above mentioned male Minnesota students were almost unanimous in thinking monogamous marriage satisfactory and in condemning the double standard for men. In contrast to the Pennsylvania men they regarded about two thousand dollars rather than about three thousand dollars as the income necessary for marriage.

Another modest study bearing on attitudes toward mate selection was based on 93 returns from 100 questionnaires sent to male students at the University of Rochester and the University of Pennsylvania. In terms of most frequent choices the ideal wife is 5 feet 5 inches, weighs about 120 pounds, is blonde (29 per cent), has blue eyes (33 per cent), does not wear glasses (81 per cent), has a good figure (90 per cent), has "it" (68 per cent), is a college graduate (53 per cent), is courteous

(90 per cent), and able to meet people (99 per cent). Her analytical powers do not have to be so well developed (45 per cent) but she must be truthful at all times (99 per cent) and she must not have too great power to dominate people (6.5 per cent). She must possess the quality of helpfulness (90 per cent). Chastity (54 per cent) is not strikingly valued. Some slight resemblance was noted between the characteristics of the ideal wives as fancied by these students and the corresponding traits of their mothers.

A more significant study of the resemblance between desired traits of ideal wives and remembered traits of mothers was made in collaboration with a member of the sociology department at the University of Minnesota.² Working with returns from 100 male students, both chance and social acceptability of traits were controlled by comparing coincident checkings for actual mother and "ideal" mate pairs with a random pairing of mothers and "ideal" mates. The percentage coincidence in the former case exceeded the percentage coincidence in the latter case on the average by 4.5 per cent.³

A few studies have been made in regard to attitudes on the part of students toward intimacy with various members of their families. Chapin, for example, has devised a scale for measuring kinship intimacy in terms of opinions or verbal reactions. He finds from a study of University of Minnesota students that intimacy seems to be notably greater for pairs of female relatives than for pairs of male relatives.⁴ The writer also questioned several hundred University of Minnesota students and

² Dennis McGenty, "A Study of the Oedipus Complex," unpublished manuscript, 1935.

³ See also C. Kirkpatrick, "A Statistical Investigation of the Psycho-analytic Theory of Mate Selection," to be published in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*.

⁴ Stuart F. Chapin, "Degrees of Kinship Intimacy," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX, 2 (November-December 1934), pp. 117-125.

found substantial evidence that students on the average feel greater intimacy toward their mothers than their fathers. Of 241 males 9 per cent reported greater intimacy with the father, while 47.3 per cent reported greater intimacy with the mother. The corresponding percentages for 312 females were 9.3 and 43.0 per cent. It would seem that there are significant affectional patterns in familial groups which are worthy of further study.

Investigation of student attitudes toward the issues of feminism may prove to have implications for sociological theory. The writer has prepared a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism with the aid of which he has obtained interesting responses from several hundred college students.⁵ It was found that there is a difference of about 9.3 points in the average scores of men and women students on this scale. This difference of means is many times the probable error and is about a fifth of the usual range of scores obtained from college groups. The sex difference in attitude is especially pronounced in regard to economic issues. In the case of female students there is some slight association between high score and unsatisfactory sex adjustment. It seems also to be true that the inconsistency ratios in responding to the various issues are notably higher for male students.⁶ Student attitudes reflect a picture of cultural confusion and sex antagonism.

We may now turn to activities and background as another index of attitude. Studies based on reports of such activities as made to nonstudent investigators may be cited. Peck and Wells

⁵ C. Kirkpatrick, "The Content of a Scale for Measuring Attitudes toward Feminism," to be published in *Sociology and Social Research*. Also "Construction of a Belief-Pattern Scale for Measuring Attitudes toward Feminism," to appear in the *Journal of Social Psychology*.

⁶ C. Kirkpatrick, "Inconsistency in Attitudinal Behavior with Special Reference to Attitudes Toward Feminism." To appear in *The Journal of Applied Psychology*.

made a highly significant study of the sex practices of college graduates. Their finding that 35 per cent of the men reported sex intercourse prior to marriage is interesting in view of the loose generalizations that have been made concerning the sex mores of the younger generation.⁷

Pressey has investigated student reports of their family backgrounds in relation to personality maladjustment, and has drawn some interesting conclusions as to the common characteristics of the "bad" home.⁸ Martin has shown the lack of association between parental punishment and social adjustment of students.⁹ Numerous similar studies might be mentioned.

The third type of data which is commonly obtained from students by nonstudent investigators consists of case studies. Almost every teacher of psychology and sociology has an accumulation of such material in his files. Certain of the studies mentioned above, while primarily statistical, have included case material. Often the deepest insight into the world of the student, complicated as it is by problems of sex and family life, comes from such self-revealing documents. It must be concluded that the attitudes and behavior of students as directly revealed by the students themselves are data of sociology and throw light on broader social problems concerned with marriage and sex.

⁷ M. W. Peck and F. L. Wells, "Psycho-Sexuality of College Graduate Men," *Mental Hygiene*, VII, 4 (October 1923), pp. 697-714. Harvey has made valuable suggestions as to means by which such investigations of sexual behavior may be made more reliable. See O. L. Harvey, "The Questionnaire as Used in Recent Studies of Human Sexual Behavior," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVI, 4 (January-March 1932), pp. 379-389. See also O. L. Harvey, "The Scientific Study of Human Sexual Behavior," *Journal of Social Psychology*, III, 2 (May 1932), pp. 161-188.

⁸ Luella Cole Pressey, "Some Serious Family Maladjustments among College Students," *Social Forces*, X, 2 (December 1931), pp. 236-242.

⁹ M. F. Martin, "The Training and Ideals of Two Adolescent Groups," *Mental Hygiene*, XVI, 2 (April 1932), pp. 277-280.

A distinction has been drawn between attitude data obtained directly from students and the interpretive data obtained with the aid of students, which bears on student attitudes toward marriage and sex. The writer was able to enlist the coöperation of students in obtaining from their parents a checking of opinions on the previously mentioned scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism. While the parents seemed to be more conservative in their opinions in regard to the status of women, the score differences can be as well explained by differences in education as by the trend of the times. Students of sex antagonism may find food for thought, however, in the fact that the sex differences in average score were greater for the students than for the parental generation. The abyss of disagreement between the two sexes in regard to the status of women seems to be widening rather than disappearing. Interesting correlations were also obtained which were substantially higher when mothers' score was correlated with student score than when fathers' score was correlated with score of offspring. There is a bit of support here for the proposition that "the hand which rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world."¹⁰

Often where activity or practice is taken as the index of attitude and where inhibitions on frankness are likely to be present, student investigators may obtain through personal acquaintance data which otherwise might not be available. One of the writer's students, for example, undertook to interview a random sample of students in regard to sex practices. Of the 34 male students interviewed in the Eastern college, 24 had experienced premarital sexual intercourse. Furthermore, 28 of the college students reported associating with girls purely for sexual reasons. Quite different and perhaps less honest statements might have been given to a nonstudent investigator.

¹⁰ C. Kirkpatrick, "A Comparison of Generations in Regard to Attitudes toward Feminism." To be published in the *Journal of Genetic Psychology*.

Valuable case-history material in regard to marriage and sex is obtainable by students from students. They are often able to obtain case histories of secret campus marriages and of clandestine student love affairs that would not always be available directly to an investigator in a different age and occupational group. Elsewhere certain advantages in student research projects have been pointed out which include the possibility that a participant observer who is himself a member of a particular group may obtain a more honest and realistic picture of certain attitudes than would be possible by an outsider.¹¹

The modification of student attitudes toward marriage and sex is an interesting topic worthy of much discussion. There have been numerous studies concerned with the modification of social attitudes but with rather uncertain results. The results are particularly ambiguous in regard to the effect of formal classroom instruction upon social attitudes.¹² Relatively few studies have been made specifically concerned with modification of attitudes toward sex and marriage. At the University of Minnesota, however, a tentative classroom experiment was conducted which seemed to indicate a modification of attitudes toward feminism following discussion of feminist issues with a person of the opposite sex.¹³

Notwithstanding our relatively slight knowledge of the processes by which attitudes may be purposefully modified, a flood of articles have appeared in recent years warmly advocating education in the schools in regard to sex and family

¹¹ C. Kirkpatrick, "Student Projects and the Sociology of Religion," *Social Forces*, XIII, 1 (October 1933), p. 64.

¹² C. Kirkpatrick, "Social Studies in Relation to Social Change," *Social Studies*, XXVI, 4-5 (April-May 1935), p. 221.

¹³ C. Kirkpatrick, "An Experimental Study of the Modification of Social Attitudes." To appear in the forthcoming issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*.

life.¹⁴ Certainly the present limited facilities for education of this kind bespeaks a lack of perspective in present educational objectives.¹⁵ It is possible that enthusiasts are correct in assuming that educational reforms will have a profound effect upon the family institution of the future. Nevertheless, it is well to discount the claims for any single social reform and to recognize limitations and obstacles in regard to the modification of attitudes of young people toward marriage and sex. Four types of limitations may be noted.

1. There is little scientific knowledge concerning the probabilities and conditions of success in the modification of attitudes toward marriage and sex. The outstanding study of Katherine B. Davis did show a relationship between sex education and likelihood of happiness in marriage.¹⁶ Wells, on the other hand, finds relatively little relation between sex instruction and patterns of sex expression. One gathers the impression that temperament and age-group contacts are more important determinants than sex instruction.¹⁷ More extensive information is needed.

2. The characteristics of educators concerned with the movement under consideration may place certain limitations upon

¹⁴ Harry A. Overstreet, "Training for Successful Marriage," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XVI, 3 (March 1930), pp. 134-139.

Norma K. Green, "Some Things to Know Before Marriage," *Journal of Home Economics*, XXIII, 9 (September 1931), pp. 833-836.

M. F. Nimkoff, "Counseling Students on Pre-Marital Problems, A Function of the Sociologist," *Mental Hygiene*, XIX, 4 (October 1935), pp. 573-585.

Anna E. Richardson, "Suggestions for Courses in Family Relationships," *Journal of Home Economics*, XXIII, 1 (January 1931), pp. 39-41.

¹⁵ Max J. Exner, "The Status of Sex Education in the Colleges," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XVII, 8 (November 1931) pp. 441-458.

¹⁶ Katherine B. Davis, *The Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929).

¹⁷ F. L. Wells, "General Personality and Certain Features of the Sex Life," *Mental Hygiene*, X, 2 (April 1926), pp. 345-354.

success. Grace Adams has argued with some plausibility that many sex educators are vice crusaders in disguise.¹⁸ It does seem to be true that few of the persons interested in sex and marriage education question the existing mores. It is possible that they are quite right in their ethical assumptions but it also seems probable that many of them are blind to the possible consequences of attempting to enforce strict premarital continence. There is reason to think that the faith in the successful sublimation of the sex drive so commonly expressed has a wishful basis. Lund has shown that there is a substantial correlation between belief and desire.¹⁹ Both Davis and Taylor have presented evidence which is not especially favorable to the sublimation theory.²⁰ It would probably be very difficult to obtain an adequate number of teachers having the necessary maturity, wisdom, experience, and poise to present on a large scale the courses on marriage guidance for college and high-school students that have been so warmly advocated. Our ignorance of such matters is still abysmal and danger lurks in the fact that we are often unaware of our own ignorance. Watson and Green have shown that there is a striking lack of correspondence between beliefs in regard to various aspects of the sex life and the facts as revealed by scientific investigation.²¹

3. In the third place there are numerous sociological obstacles to widespread and effective education of students in

¹⁸ Grace Adams, "Sex and Social Service," *American Mercury*, XXXI, 124 (April 1934), pp. 475-484.

¹⁹ F. H. Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XX, 1-12 (April, July 1925), pp. 63-81, 174-196.

²⁰ W. S. Taylor, "A Critique of Sublimation in Males: A Study of Forty Superior Single Men," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XIII, 1 (January 1933), pp. 1-115.

²¹ Goodwin Watson and Geraldine Green, "Scientific Studies and Personal Opinion on Sex Questions," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVII, 2 (July-September 1932), pp. 130-146.

regard to sex and marriage. Sex taboos still exist which tend to confine discussion to the obvious and the irrelevant. The influences of family background have a primacy effect upon the attitudes of students which is not easily counterbalanced by superficial classroom contacts at a later age. There is a difficult problem of educational strategy in regard to the best means of breaking continuity in the vicious cycle of unwholesome attitudes transmitted from parents to their children and to their children's children. Furthermore, there is reason to think that effective attitude modification comes from sources having prestige. Unhappily the teacher does not always command prestige in our modern educational system. Fact and theory in modern sociology emphasize the importance of in-group attitudes and age-group controls upon conduct as compared with formal education emanating from members of an older group.²²

4. Finally, there are psychological obstacles. The most conspicuous of these perhaps is the difficulty of transmitting wisdom as contrasted with mere knowledge. The comprehension of many aspects of marriage experience is totally impossible because of the lack of any apperceptive mass to give meaning to verbal descriptions. A child-birth experience cannot fully be comprehended by a male or by a young woman who has never had a pregnancy. An adolescent in the throes of romantic love is incapable of imagining the cooling of such emotion to quiet affection or perhaps indifference. Subtle states of emotional ambivalence in marriage defy transmission by the verbal categories of social science.

Perhaps the educator who yearns to temper the attitudes of young people by wisdom and insight would do well to turn to his purpose the literary gifts of dramatists, poets, and novelists. Writers such as D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Ruth

²² Hugh Hartshorne and Mark May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

Suchow, Eugene O'Neill, Ellen Glasgow, Sinclair Lewis, and Evelyn Scott speak more clearly than many professional sociologists.

Present student attitudes toward marriage and sex determine in part the nature of the family groups which they will establish. Their attitudes have been modified and doubtless will be modified in the future. We need to know more about the prospects for modifying the attitudes of students toward marriage and sex so as to further their happiness and that of others.

PERSONALITY CHANGES IN PRACTICE TEACHERS

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When a man or woman has taught for a few years, his personality tends to set in one of a number of characteristic patterns. Although this fact is fairly well recognized, the teacher as an occupational type has received very little attention.¹ Since the first year, or the first few weeks or months, are crucial for the adjustment of personality to any new situation, the study of beginners in teaching should prove particularly revealing. Only the study of beginners can reveal the all-important early processes of adjustment which take place when a personality is confronted for the first time by the cultural and social phenomena which are peculiar to the world of the teacher.

The present paper is a brief statement of the more important conclusions derived from a study of practice teachers.² The persons studied were college seniors in the School of Education at Pennsylvania State College; each of them devoted his full time for nine weeks to practice teaching. The study began as a general inquiry into practice teaching, taking the form of talks with practice teachers and supervisors, and the study of diaries

¹ I have essayed an extended discussion of the teacher as an occupational type in my book, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1932). See Part V, "What Teaching Does to Teachers," pp. 375-400.

² The practice-teaching situation is not quite a normal teaching situation. The practice teacher's range of choice is limited; some of the trials and failures of the beginner are, therefore, eliminated. The practice teacher does not assume full and undivided responsibility for his classes. He must teach in the presence of an older teacher. He receives no pay envelope and is not a member of the teacher group. Nevertheless, our findings should apply to all in the practice-teaching group and should apply fairly well to other beginners.

and life-history documents obtained from practice teachers. A set of twenty-two questions was framed, and completed schedules were obtained, through interviews, from twenty-eight practice teachers; in some cases, three or four interviews were staged with the same student at intervals during the practice-teaching period in addition to the final interview at the end of the period.³ Two years later, Miss Rose Braunstein, herself a practice teacher, studied an additional group of fifteen. The schedule contained a number of specific questions and also certain general questions which were designed to tap the subject's free associations; in this way it was hoped to secure comparable data from different subjects and at the same time to leave the door open to new findings. As the investigation proceeded, new questions were added at the end, but the phrasing and the order of the original questions were not changed. The present paper is based upon forty-three completed schedules and seven life-history documents selected for their fullness and explicitness. One of these documents, a diary, runs to more than twenty thousand words.

The following schedule was used in the interviews:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRACTICE TEACHERS

Introductory remarks—The object of this investigation is to discover what effect, if any, your period of practice teaching has had on you. If possible I should like to be able to locate certain changes as taking place in particular weeks of the practice period; I have, therefore, asked you to locate incidents by weeks of the nine-week period. Some of the questions call for introspections which you may not be able to make; do not answer these unless you are fairly sure of your facts. This investigation will have nothing to do with your practice-teaching grade or any other rating which will be assigned to you; its sole purpose is to discover what practice teaching has done to you.

³ A paper based upon this material was presented to the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society in 1932.

1. Did the number of hours spent each day in preparation of lessons increase, decrease, or remain constant during your nine weeks?
2. Estimate the number of hours spent daily during each week of the nine-week period.
3. Did your classroom notes become more or less elaborate during the training period?
4. Did you stop using notes at any time during your training period? When?
5. Did the class hour seem longer or shorter as your training went on?
6. Did you have any trouble in deciding what to do with your hands? If this has disappeared, when did it disappear?
7. Did you have any trouble in repressing laughter (in yourself)? When and under what circumstances?
8. Have you come to any conclusions as to when, if ever, it is permissible for a teacher to laugh in the classroom? If so, state your conclusions briefly.
9. Have you ever been angry with a student? When? Why?
10. Were you at any time diffident or hesitant about asking students to pass your papers or do other little tasks for you? Have you changed in this respect?
11. Are you aware of any changes in your classroom voice? Characterize the change, if any.
12. Are you more or less enthusiastic about teaching than you were when you started?
13. Relate any incidents which have defined for you a special code of behavior relating to teachers.
14. What was your most unpleasant experience during the nine weeks of practice teaching?
15. What was your most pleasant experience?
16. Have there been any changes in the degree to which your waking thoughts, when free, were fastened upon teaching situations?
17. Do you recall any dreams relating to teaching situations? If so, tell the dream or dreams briefly.
18. At the end of your nine weeks, do you care more or less than previously about the opinion which students may have of you as a person?
19. What do you regard as the most important experience of the practice-teaching period?
20. Aside from those already dealt with, what changes do you think

- your practice-teaching experience has produced in you?
21. How long was it before you noticed matters of discipline (minor matters, such as chewing gum, whispering, etc.)?
 22. Are your sympathies now with teachers or students?
 23. Can you trace the process of developing skill and accuracy in marking papers and of developing the attitudes that go with standards of grading?
 24. Are you happy at the thought of being a teacher, or do you rebel against it?
 25. Has your self-confidence increased or decreased as a result of your experience?
 26. Do you consider teaching an easy job or a hard job?
 27. Do you teach better when the training teacher is present? Do you resent her presence?
 28. As a result of your experience, are you more or less critical of your college professors?
 29. Did you at any time notice unusual fatigue or hunger?

The clearest and least disputable findings relate to various aspects of habit formation. The following results can perhaps be so classified:

1. During the practice period, the time spent in preparation of lessons drops sharply. Twenty-eight reported a decrease in preparation time, seven no decrease, eight an increase. Of the fifteen reporting no decrease, seven were teaching in fields in which they were not trained, and one became a full-time teacher in an emergency.

2. Lesson plans and notes grew less elaborate. Thirty-five reported less elaborate notes; of this group twenty discarded them altogether.

3. The first class hour seems interminably long; succeeding hours grow much shorter as one becomes habituated to the situation. Forty reported a shortening effect, three no change; of the three reporting no change, two were problem cases. Some reported a pressure of materials on time toward the end of their teaching experience.

4. At first, the teaching situation seems to occupy consciousness completely, dominating all free phantasy, resulting in much shop talk, and so on, but this changes as teaching becomes a job. Twenty-six reported less phantasy and shop talk, ten no decrease, two an increase.

5. The concern of the beginning teacher to get certain things said gives him a peculiar blind spot for minor matters of discipline. Eighteen reported this blind spot definitely; seven definitely stated that it was not there. The redirection of attention from its early exclusive devotion to subject matter does not ordinarily occur for at least a week, and is sometimes delayed for several weeks. The existence of this blind spot furnishes one of the best arguments for practice teaching under supervision. Since the first few days of a term are all-important for discipline, practice-teaching training should prevent a great many failures.

6. In the early part of the practice period, extreme fatigue and hunger are common symptoms.⁴ Although he had taught only two hours and observed others for the remainder of the day, one boy wrote in his diary, "I still feel quite nervous and distraught. I remarked to the office assistant that I am more tired after a day here than when doing hard physical labor. I have that feeling of utter exhaustion." (Sixth week.)

7. Habits of explaining things in detail and very simply were formed and were carried over into other relations. From a diary: "During the week I have discovered myself being weighty and pompous in defining things outside of school to my friends. I guess one gets into the habit of explaining everything in minute detail. . . . The tendency to overexplain and to be too careful in things I found cropping out in myself and in

⁴ Miss Braunstein's finding, which came so late in the investigation that it could not be checked against any considerable number of cases. If it holds good upon further testing, this conclusion has some practical importance.

other student teachers in our arguments." Habits of gesturing were also formed and carried over. Intimates of the practice teachers frequently resented these changes.

Certain less tangible but clearly traceable changes in personality were adjustments to the authority role. Wielding authority was assuredly a pleasant and constructive experience for these practice teachers. All but three of fifty students questioned on this point reported emphatically an increase in self-confidence as a result of the experience, and there were many lengthy, voluntary statements concerning their feeling of suddenly maturing, of acquiring tolerant attitudes toward adolescents, and so on. The sudden inflation of ego feelings led to a number of ludicrous incidents. Other adjustments to authority and the limelight included the rapid disappearance of diffidence over commands, the fading out of the feeling of bodily awkwardness, and the almost universal improvement of speech and diction. Early adjustments to authority seem to be altogether favorable.

As we know from the study of experienced teachers, this period of favorable adjustment is commonly, if not usually, followed by a period of bitterness and maladjustments; this change appears to be chiefly a matter of ego thwarts suffered in conflict with students and others.⁵ No practice teachers had definitely passed from the enthusiastic, expansive stage to the thwarted, negativistic stage, but the process of change had begun. In the eighth week one boy wrote in his diary: "These days I don't feel nearly so impressive as I did at first. I can feel my egotism rising when I walk through the cafeteria, but not nearly so much as at the beginning of teaching." The appearance of the schoolteacher temper may be taken as a possible indication of waning ego gratification. The schoolteacher temper

⁵ I have advanced a more extensive explanation in *The Sociology of Teaching*, pp. 421ff, 433ff.

is a flashing, defensive anger directed at some one who threatens or belittles the teacher's authority. It cannot appear until one has adjusted his emotions to the expanded social self of the teacher; and it thus follows the period of ego expansion noted above. When the outburst comes, it frequently surprises the young teacher; since it usually has some value in control of the immediate situation, it is usually repeated. Twenty-four of forty cases reported unusual outbursts of temper during the practice period. These outbursts usually occurred late in the practice period. Some practice teachers reported shamming or consciously exaggerating anger.

The first important examination frequently brings to the surface latent attitudes of the student which deflate the ego of the new teacher. When he discovers that students are working for grades, and are likely to argue about grades, the new teacher suffers a profound ego thwart.⁶ His standards of grading tend to stiffen after the first grades are made out, which may be explained as spite motivation, polarization in conflict, and also as a rational adjustment.

One would perhaps expect the practice teacher to experience a shift of allegiance from the student group to the teacher group. However, this occurred only to a limited extent. Observation of the stereotyped teachers who abound in any school system throws the practice teacher into severe conflict, but he usually rationalizes by deciding that he will never be like that. The resentment of the teacher identification is, nevertheless, often violent. The transfer of allegiance to the teacher group is slowed up by informal hazing of the practice teachers; nine subjects reported very unpleasant incidents with regular teachers.

Practice teachers did not accept the teacher's moral code.

⁶ This may initiate a long process of student-teacher conflict. An excellent case of this was reported in a much discussed anonymous article, "Confessions of a College Teacher," *Scribners*, XCIX, 4 (October 1933), pp. 221-224.

Some two thirds of the male practice teachers had social engagements with high-school girls, although the rule against this was explicit and severe. Perhaps a fourth or fifth of the women practice teachers had such engagements. Of fifty subjects questioned on this point, thirty-two were actively in rebellion against some phase of the teacher code, and it would be difficult to state with assurance that more than one or two were not in rebellion. It should be emphasized that these early conflicts are important determinants of later typical adjustments; novices become typical teachers partly because they do not want to become typical teachers.

Teaching dreams are fairly common among practice teachers; they show where the points of strain appear in the school situation as it affects the teacher. Twenty-four out of fifty student teachers recalled having had some teaching dreams, but few could reproduce the dreams in detail. The most numerous group of dreams related to supervision; perhaps eleven or twelve could be so identified. Three dreams related to tabooed conduct. One related to the treatment of practice teachers by regular teachers. One substituted the supervisor for the student's mother. One was a dream of incompetence; two apparently symbolized social distance. There was one example of the discipline dream. The emotional tone in most cases was very unpleasant. Many dreams involving the supervisor were recurrent. Dreams of practice teachers were markedly similar to the dream types of experienced teachers.⁷

Certain subjects produce rapid professionalization. Drill and the element of conflict are apparently the factors making for rapid professionalization. Practical subjects and subjects which students like cause slower professionalization in the teacher. A factor making for a low rate of professionalization is the preservation of college associations, as at a rooming house. The fact

⁷ W. Waller, *op. cit.*, pp. 401ff.

that for a few weeks after their return to college many student teachers minutely criticized their professors' methods shows some degree of integration into the occupational type. However, many of the changes of personality induced by practice teaching disappeared within a month.

Insight into the social situation of the classroom, as revealed by the question concerning laughter and by other general questions, was far below the level of more experienced teachers.

The conclusion seems indicated that the practice period of nine weeks is long enough for the development of habits and skills, but not long enough to permit the student to obtain a good understanding of the teaching situation nor to see him through the period of sharpest conflict with his occupational role.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

SCHOOL STUDY VISUALIZES DELINQUENCY¹

Community action to control juvenile delinquency depends on community leaders becoming conscious of the problem.

Most communities have no total picture of their delinquency situation. Community leaders do not actually know the facts. The average judge of the juvenile court can give them little assistance because he is himself too busy to analyze his own records and he has no clerical staff free for that purpose.

The assistance that the schools can give under such circumstances is vividly illustrated by an interesting spot map of the distribution of 493 boys in Wyandotte, Michigan, dealt with by the police or by the juvenile court in five years from January 1, 1927, to January 1, 1932. The data on which this map is based were assembled by Messrs. Harry Wagner, Jesse Dalley, and C. J. Whitney of the Wyandotte schools. Other studies throwing light on the educational status of Wyandotte delinquents and on local attitudes have been made by Miss Bessie Tohill Davis and Mrs. Jeannette Horton, also of the educational staff.

In this case the research was done in connection with University work in sociology, but less ambitious projects could easily be carried out by social-science pupils of local high schools if they were carefully directed. Such studies would not only provide the data to focus community attention on the delinquency problem, but would serve to vitalize social-science teaching by familiarizing pupils with their own community's problems.

During the five years covered by the Wyandotte study 493 boys and 333 girls were handled by the police or the courts, a total of 826.

¹ Reprinted from *Delinquency News Letter* (University of Michigan: Juvenile Delinquency Information Service, December 1934), pp. 1, 2, 3.

By years totals were as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Totals
1927	51	32	83
1928	50	59	109
1929	139	73	212
1930	133	91	224
1931	104	68	172
Unknown	16	10	26
	<hr/> 493	<hr/> 333	<hr/> 826

Slightly more than half of these delinquents were handled by the police and by the local justice court and not by the Wayne County Juvenile Court. On the basis of school population the delinquency rate per 1000 in Wyandotte was, in 1927, 6 for the boys and 3.8 for the girls. The boys' rate reached a peak of 15.5 per 1000 school population in 1929; the girls' a peak of 9.7 in 1930. Wyandotte's population in 1930 was 28,368, and its school population varied from 8,324 in 1927 to 9,757 in 1931.

Nearly sixty per cent of all offenders, boys and girls, were truants; 28 per cent of the boys were guilty of larceny. Immorality constituted the second most numerous offense for the girls: 27 per cent.

One of the most significant facts was that 74.5 per cent of the boys and 53.4 per cent of the girls came from unbroken, *i.e.*, "normal," homes. The families from which the delinquents came were somewhat larger than the average for the city.

In line with studies elsewhere, Polish homes contributed a disproportionate number of delinquents relative to population. Foreign and native-born Poles constituted 26.6 per cent of Wyandotte's population in 1930. Delinquents from Polish homes made up 39.5 per cent of the total delinquents.

DELINQUENTS IN A BOYS' REPUBLIC

A significant study of the success and failure of one thousand delinquents committed to the Ford Boys' Republic near Detroit was completed and published in a private edition by the University of Chicago Library late in 1935.¹ The study was made by Courtlandt C. Van

¹ This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Courtlandt C. Van Vechten.

Vechten, who is now a sociologist and actuary of the Division of Pardons and Parole in the State of Illinois.

The study, on the one hand, was an attempt to make a contribution to the methodology of prediction of human behavior, and, on the other, to determine the relationship between determinable characteristics of juvenile delinquents and their ultimate social adjustments. The work consists of a general statement on the institution considered and a discussion of methods and techniques, followed by chapters on the individual factors, home-background factors, neighborhood and school factors, delinquency factors, institutional factors, and post-institutional factors. Some statistical problems are considered and prediction tables based on the factors studied are presented. There is a summary chapter presenting the results of the study and the raw data which were used are presented in an appendix. The study has an excellent bibliography of studies dealing with prediction and social factors entering into delinquency.

CRIME PREVENTION INSTITUTE ORGANIZED

At a recent meeting at the City Club in New York, the National Crime Prevention Institute, Incorporated, was organized with the following officers:

President, Dr. Sheldon Glueck, Law School, Harvard University

Treasurer, Dean George W. Kirchwey, New York City

Secretary, Frederic M. Thrasher, New York University

Executive Director, Roland C. Sheldon, New York City

The purpose of the Institute is to concentrate upon the problem of crime prevention. It will carry on researches in this field as well as dispense information and prepare practical programs.

THE STUDY OF STUDENT TRADITIONS AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH

This paper reports a study carried on by W. H. Cowley of Ohio State University of student group behavior in American colleges and universities.¹ In these researches the investigator had the coöperation of many sociologists throughout the country, who have used advanced students in their courses to gather information upon their campuses concerning the mechanisms of student group life. Because of the necessity

¹ This statement is furnished through the courtesy of W. H. Cowley, Ohio State University.

of depending upon student assistance in gathering much of the data, the study has been denominated "Student Traditions." It includes, however, a fairly complete canvass of student life viewed sociologically.

The investigator was interested not only in the group behavior patterns but in the generic culture complex of the American college as contrasted with foreign institutions and the differentiation of this basic complex in configurations by size and complexity of institutions and also by age, type, and locale of institutions. He was similarly interested in the problem of controlling the behavior of college students by means of intelligent understanding of the rationale of social heritage. He was concerned also with the relationship of group life in college to adult society.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Economic Problems, by HAROLD F. CLARK.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 271 pages.

Occasionally a volume appears that should be read by every teacher and citizen who could not understand a more technical work dealing with the problems of our economic and social life. Mr. Clark has written just such a book. The purpose of this book is primarily to present a discussion in simple language from the point of view of improving our economic order, showing the place of the teacher and the school in the task of social readjustment to the end that the American people as a whole shall have an opportunity to live the good life.

The author accepts private ownership as the basis of the economic order, but recognizes that at the present time our economic order is highly inefficient. He, therefore, advocates the substitution of a coördinated economic order without departing from the essential elements of ownership of the means of production. He calls on us to pool our resources of intelligence, of good faith, and of research to the end that our world may be a better place in which to live.

The book is a timely, honest, direct examination of the outstanding problems of economic life in present-day America.

The American State and Higher Education, by ALEXANDER BRODY. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education and the Social Science Research Council, 1935, vii + 251 pages.

This is an analysis of the relation of the State to higher education in the United States. The author has availed himself of all the significant material germane to his study, historical, educational, legal, and political. The historian will find this volume indispensable for a future history of higher education in this country. To the lawyer, it offers an authoritative statement of the legal status of institutions for higher education. Of interest to the student of educational administration is the presentation of the pattern of administrative control of education. The student of public administration will welcome this volume as a contribution to his literature.

Without delving at length into many interesting themes which this volume presents, it will suffice to point out one, namely, the problem of educational

autonomy; *i.e.*, the area of administrative independence of State institutions for higher education. Herein is contained a paradox. A public educational institution is an agency of the State, and yet because of its peculiar functions it must be free from political control. What is to be the line of demarcation between the political and educational functions of the State? Perhaps this paradox is inherent in a democracy. The American people have long experienced the problem of placing beyond the reach of their own political representatives those interests deemed of special protection.

Home and Family, by HELEN MOUGEY JORDAN, M. LOUISA ZILLER, AND JOHN FRANKLIN BROWN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935, 426 pages.

This book presents in terms understandable to high-school students the factors that enter into the making of a home. It has been planned for the use of boys as well as of girls because the authors have assumed that the family consists of at least two persons, one of them being a man.

The "major activities and relationships which a rational home and family life involve" have been set forth singly, and methods of dealing with each problem have been discussed.

The topics are as follows: the material home; the successful family; management; child development; the family as an institution; the family as a personal problem.

A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, by CARLTON J. H. HAYES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, vol. II, xiv + 1,215 pages.

By analyzing "A Century of Predominantly Industrial Society, 1830-1935," Professor Hayes concludes his book. He belongs to that school of American historians which recognizes the possibility, as well as the desirability, of escaping from the narrowly political or economic framework of nineteenth-century historiography and of achieving a broadened cultural interpretation. In this respect, the late Dr. James Harvey Robinson and Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, in addition to others, have produced historical studies which at a time of enforced reevaluation, such as we are at present undergoing, however unconscious we might be of it, are the best examples of the so-called "new" history. Hayes's work is a brave and honest addition to the contributions of this school. It surveys the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and describes the events of Europe from the viewpoint of economic and political liberalism and romanticism and nationalism. The second part specializes in the period of 1870-1914, and the third concludes with the postwar period. Of special value are the chapters

dealing with art and religion in the era of realism and the present period of disillusionment, progress and poverty, mechanical certainties and scientific doubt, religion and art in the contemporary world. Select bibliographies are not exhaustive but very useful. All in all, Hayes has little to add to our knowledge of what happened, but he has much to offer on the propelling forces of events and the springs from which they emanated. In this respect Hayes is brilliant without effort and clear without becoming common.

Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases, by CHARLES C. PETERS AND WALTER R. VANVOORHIS. State College, Pa.: Pennsylvania State College, 1935, 363 pages.

For the individual who is not thoroughly versed in the calculus, but desires to understand more thoroughly the derivation of the formulas for the statistical concepts used in biological and social investigations, this book will prove exceedingly helpful. It is a fairly successful attempt to steer a midway course between the oversimplified statistical texts, of which there are many, and the more technical works of the mathematicians. After a brief elementary presentation of the calculus principles involved in statistical derivations, the book is devoted to a step-by-step explanation of the mathematical bases of the more common statistical formulas. The authors clearly enumerate the assumptions that have been made in order to reduce some of our formulas to their present simplicity and emphasize the errors that frequently arise through the misuse of statistical formulas on data which do not conform to the assumptions on which the formulas were based. It is unfortunate that minor typographical errors persist throughout the book even though the first printing was recalled for corrections.

The Ancestry of the Long Lived, by RAYMOND PEARL AND RUTH DE WITT PEARL. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, 168 pages.

In this careful and scientific investigation of the inheritance of human life duration, the authors have suggested a new measureable attribute for an individual known as *TIAL* (Total Immediate Ancestral Longevity). This measure consists of the sum of the ages at death of the six ancestors of the two immediately preceding generations. The distributions, variability, and interrelations of *TIAL* are analyzed for two groups of persons: one consisting of individuals 90 years of age or above and still living; the other composed of the oldest living siblings from sibships taken at random so far as longevity is concerned. The comparisons and interrelations of *TIAL* for the two groups show clearly that heredity is an important factor in the determination of the longevity of the individual human beings. On the basis of the comparisons, a conservative estimate of the genetic influence is made.

Fascism and National Socialism, by MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, x + 292 pages.

This comparative study of the economic and social policies of the present regimes in Italy and Germany is in no sense a penetrating work of social or political significance. But it provides an illuminating prelude to any study of present-day events in Germany and Italy. The main interest of the book will be found in what Dr. Florinsky saw and heard in these countries. We thus learn that "history, law, economics, and philosophy have to be taught in the spirit of fascism and national socialism. Some professors still succeed in defeating the strictness of regulations, making use of this subterfuge or that, but their position is precarious, and it is all humiliating to the last degree." Those who have never found time to go through other more specialized books on the topic will doubtless learn from it much that they never knew.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol. II: A Century of Predominately Industrial Society, 1830-1935, by CARLTON H. H. HAYES.
New York: The Macmillan Company.

Psychology of Adjustment, by L. F. SHAFFER. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Psychology of Sex, by HAVELOCK ELLIS. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

Readings in Psychology, edited by CHARLES E. SKINNER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

Sex Technique in Marriage, by ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

Testing Children's Development from Birth to School Age, by CHARLOTTE BUEHLER AND HILDEGARD HETZER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

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